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AMERICA'S RESPONSIBILITY IN THE PACIFIC

BY SYDNEY GREENBIE

THE tragedy in Europe has left Europe in the background. Civilization is rapidly veering round in the direction of the Pacific.

The facts leave us little room for speculation. Big monthly magazines hitherto featuring articles meant to supply the needs of people likely to tour Europe are now accepting readily material dealing with the Orient. Two of the best sellers in travel books this year portray life in the South Seas. At Honolulu, Hawaii, there has recently been a congress of scientists who have set for themselves the task of studying the various races in the Pacific. This summer there is to be an international Trade Congress in the Pacific. The Methodists are celebrating their Centenary of activity in the Pacific Isles this year. The World Sunday School Society Association holds its convention in Tokyo. A body of leading American business men have recently gone to Japan to study conditions. And industrial conditions in America are turning our attention to the methods by which labor problems have been handled in Australia and New Zealand.

Is this tendency purely accidental or is it fundamental to the real growth of civilization? Or is that mystic force which first urged mankind to follow the trail of glacier towards Europe and round the globe now about to complete a cycle, and the reunion of mankind to be consummated? Is it possible for all the peoples who have made themselves secure in the Pacific to come together? What peoples are there?

Twenty or thirty years ago the Pacific we now know was a vast enigma. Today we are faced with responsibilities there, colossal and mature. Then our general knowledge of

who constituted the peoples of the Pacific was limited to the reports of sailors, or to the scientific data of Darwin and the tales of Stevenson and Melville. Today we know that whole chains of native races—Hawaiians, Samoans, Maories—are Aryans and can be and are being assimilated. The Maories will doubtless within a few generations be lost in the Britons who now own New Zealand. But we also know that such races as the Fijians and the Solomon Islanders cannot and will not yield to combination with the white race. We know that the Filipinos are in a fair way to complete self-government; that Japan is heading straight for the leadership of the Asiatic races; that China has thrown down the doors of isolation; that India is rapidly becoming industrialized. We know that Burma is a highly civilized country, that Java has had a remarkable civilization.

Yet as much as we know of the peoples of the Pacific, the ocean itself is not yet safely charted for navigation. Besides the thousands of islands with the uncountable races and mixtures, there are unknown projections which are a menace to travel. So vast are the spaces and so free the passageways however, that when I returned from Japan the *Katori-maru*, a palatial ocean liner, proceeded for two full days through a dense fog without fear of collision and without the slightest slackening of speed, coming out at the end of that period some forty miles ahead of her record in clear weather. So vast are the spaces that I have spent nearly seventy days on fast, modern ocean liners in going from San Francisco to Hawaii, down to Fiji and Samoa, on to New Zealand, up from Australia to China and Japan and back across by the most northerly route to America again. Looking at a map one thinks New Zealand, like England, is close to the continent (Australia), yet it is 1200 miles away, passage from Auckland to Sydney taking three to four days by steamer.

These vast spaces, once regarded with such awe and indifference, are now criss-crossed with a veritable net-work of steamers. From Canada to Australia three powerful vessels make punctual calls; from San Francisco to Australia another line visits Sydney regularly. From Japan to Australia monthly steamers arrive and depart with precision and with riches. From Japan to America dozens of vessels now make the 4500 miles which is the shortest northern route day in and day out. Though one rarely meets a vessel at sea on account of its size, the number of ships which trade hither and

thither have made short shrift of the distance between the East and the West. Even the Western coast of South America is now being visited by Japanese steamers with frequent regularity. And then in the other direction there are the lines which link Europe with India and Japan.

In terms of wealth and resources, these ships indicate an activity which is sufficient to satisfy the desires of the world. In terms of people and conflicting interests, this activity arouses no little apprehension. For even though it be only copra (cocoanut oil) from the South Seas or coal from Shansi and eastern Mongolia, whether it is steel from Pittsburg or silk from Japan and wool from Australia—the materials obtainable and necessary in the normal development of all these diverse types of humanity will either weld or shatter the relations they have only just begun to establish. The weakness of any one race may mean disaster to all of them, just as the barrenness of a tiny island may cause the wreckage of a \$10,000,000 vessel or become the base of operations for a scheming, belligerent nation. The tragedy of the Balkans is as nothing compared to the possible calamity which might befall us if a semi-developed Samoa should lend itself to the intrigue of a great Power eager for world domination. In spite of the vast spaces of water which separate the islands in the South Seas, natives have carried on war with each other with their primitive canoes. What might they not do as cat's-paws for imperialism? When I interviewed the democratic M. P., Yukio Ozaki in Japan not long ago, he turned, without question from me, to the subject of the fortifications of the Philippines. He pleaded that they be dismantled. In the event of that plea failing, what could Japan do, he asked, other than proceed to fortify the Marshall Islands? And writing in the *Auckland Weekly News* (N. Z.) lately, a New Zealand navalist brought up the dread spectre "Balance of Power" again, calling attention to the fact that inasmuch as Japan is a great Naval Power and America is increasing her naval strength, it is for democratic Australasia to see to it that Great Britain did not lag behind with its fleet in the Pacific—to maintain the Balance of Power. And the further sad fact was revealed that Australasia (seen in the expression of this one individual at least) did not care particularly whether in the event of conflict they were on the side of America or Japan. In fact, in view of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, this writer

asserted that Great Britain would be bound to side with Japan against America, should there be a clash between us.

The Dominions in the Far South are in no mood, however, for being increasingly bound to Japan by any alliance Britain may wish to make. Nor, in fact, is Great Britain herself any too well satisfied with the way the Anglo-Japanese Alliance has been violated in the Twenty-one Demands and the Sino-Japanese Military agreement. At the present writing the Alliance is about to be renewed—but with the prospect of some very serious alterations and guarantees. Some Britishers are recommending an Anglo-American-Japanese Agreement.

These facts must be faced. Not as alarmists crying aloud for greater preparation, but as those who realize that we must face the issue of the Pacific with positive and with earnest effort at understanding. America's position in the Pacific is not one which can be side-stepped even as it was side-stepped in regard to Europe until the war and has been since. We may have had precedents against entangling alliances with European Powers, but there are no precedents to guide us in the Pacific. Alliances are here precluded. We have committed ourselves to friendship for China and have fortified it with a return of the Boxer Indemnity in 1900. We have committed ourselves to protection over the Philippines even granting self-government. But still we have naval bases in Pago Pago, Samoa, in the Philippines and in Hawaii. Are we to navalize the Pacific, or civilize it? Are we to convert every projecting rock into a menace, or are we to be honest navigators exposing every treacherous island on maps for the use of any and every race? Are we to scramble for interests in the Pacific, or are we to so help all of the peoples to rise to strength and independence so that each will in itself be a buffer against aggression and turmoil? These are not idle questions. They point to weaknesses in our attitude to the problems of the Pacific for which we will pay in blood and treasure unless we tackle their solution at once. The "Valor of Ignorance" is not to be met with the blindness of force.

I called the head of a certain Bureau in New York on the telephone the other day to ask for a bit of information with regard to prison studies in Japan, and was met with a cold indifference which surprised me. The Japanese gentleman claims to be giving out information for the better

understanding of the East and the West, but in fear lest my question when answered expose a condition in Japan that might not maintain that proud nation's glory, might detract from its prestige, he would not help me in the least towards obtaining that information. But though my question did not call for the remark at all, he immediately declared: "Japan's prison system is the best in the world." "I should hardly say that," I answered. He was emphatic. "But I have seen the inside of Japanese prisons," I protested. He was taken by surprise. "At least they are as good as any in the world," he thereupon urged. That not having been my purpose, I told him that I merely wanted a bit of information about some persons. But he would give me no assistance. This is an example of the "valor of ignorance" which is a greater menace to the peoples in the Pacific than all of the un-charted rocks the waters may harbor. This covering up of our weaknesses before the eyes of our neighbors is certain to lead to trouble. This putting our best foot forward, only to have the other ready for a nasty kick, is not going to induce amicable relations. If there is an ideal worthy of emulation in any race in the Pacific, let us know it and honor it. If there is a sore which needs scientific political treatment, let us attend to it. Our problems in the Pacific are well-defined, if we will but look for them; our obligations are clear, if we will but undertake them courageously.

What are these problems and these obligations?

They are these. The first is that of the development of the peoples who have through the strange machinations of fate been left in as primitive a state as though there were no such thing as progress. We are not going to better things by following the luring vagaries of men disgusted with civilization who come to us with reports of the delectability of things primitive as compared with things commercialized. We are not going to solve our problem as we did with the coming of Japan into the range of the world—by adulation. Today we are suffering from the effects of having made Japanese feel that they are perfect and to be adored. The problem is one of unadulterated education, of education in the simple arts of self-support individually, and self government racially. Owing to a bit of education, I have seen even the delinquent Fiji islander look like a gentleman from Broadway, without any of this "gentleman's" offensive affectations.

But if our efforts are to be fruitful we must avoid abstract education which leads to hair-splitting. It is to be education in the fundamentals—education in the use of hands and brain for self-support and happiness. It is to be education of ourselves as well as of those we wish to elevate.

But the problem is even deeper than that. Merely elevating other races will not preclude conflict. Germany was well educated and on a level if not in many ways superior to the nations round about her. That very development created friction. And the talk of Japan as a menace is largely due to the fact that Japan has grown out of the lowly state in which her exclusionists had placed her for two hundred and fifty years. As yet China is no "menace," for China has still her teeming hordes who curtail each other's usefulness.

Nor will the problem of our relationship with the people of the Pacific be solved by the effort of labor to keep up its own high standards by the exclusion of those of lower standard.

Nor will the problem be solved by our assuming more and more protectorates over simple nations unused to the tricks of diplomacy.

Our problem will only be solved by working assiduously for international coöperation. The consortium now established by America, England, France and Japan for loans to China is a promise of coöperation—but it has a shady fallacy lurking about. Our problem will clear away when all nations establish departments open to civil service appointments of people who will enter the field of education and uplift work without other compensation possible than that of an honest salary. There should be a Department of Education for the Pacific in which the people of the United States do out of their own funds what we did in China out of the moneys paid in the Boxer Indemnity. This Department would study the races of the Pacific with a view to finding what are the special requirements of each particular people and how they can be supplied. No abstract subjects should be promulgated. There should be a Bureau of Social Hygiene and Sanitary Engineering recruited from the American student body with luring pay drawing thousands of young physicians and engineers out into the various Pacific Islands to study the questions of the eradication of disease and the care of body and mind. There should be a

Bureau of Civics and International Law carrying to the peoples of the Pacific whose simplicity lays them open to the chicanery of political parasites the simple truths of human relationships as we understand them. So the entire fabric of civilization might be spread over the waters of the Pacific. But to guard against the possibility of some sword piercing it and rending it must come the voice of civilization calling shame upon the present practices of any nation now operating in the Pacific in other than pacific ways.

All this must be done not by America alone, but by all the people now in a position to coöperate. Just as Japan codified her laws and changed them in conformity with those of the West, so as to regain full rights over foreigners in her own territory, so must all the nations reorganize their laws in conformity with the best interests of all. There must be judges in all lands who know the laws of other lands as well as their own and an attempt be made to bring them all in greater conformity to a universal standard of justice—of right and wrong. There must be educators set to work studying the educational systems of nations on the Pacific so as to bring the methods more and more in line with each other. There must be Departments of Health advising each other how to so remedy conditions as to eliminate the danger of spread of plague. It is not enough that we have an excellent department of health vigilant in the exclusion of plague—our department of health should coöperate with that of Japan and of Australasia—and of every island in the Pacific. In other words, we must realize that the problems of every group anywhere in the world effect for good or ill our own welfare.

Our problem in the Pacific is therefore ten times more complicated than that which faced the powerful nations of Europe in the Balkans. While the diversity of nations was great in Europe, in the Pacific it is greater. But while the relationship in the Balkans was in some cases close, not only in sheer propinquity, but in development, in the Pacific not only is the blood running in the veins of the races in many cases extremely alien, one to the other, but the distances separating them in space and in development make coöperation and getting together difficult. This makes it easier for selfish nations to place themselves as wedges between them. The scramble after mandates in the Pacific indicates the recognition of their importance.

But in reverse ratio—insofar as the races of the Pacific have none of the irritating intimacy which obtained in Europe, the problem is clearer. The repetition of the intrigues which Germany, through her daughter on the Russian throne, could carry out, is here impossible. Only once in my knowledge was royal intermarriage attempted and it proved a failure. The Japanese changed their law against the marriage of their royalty with royalty of another race—Korea—and to forestall it, we are told, the ex-Emperor of Korea committed suicide. The insurrection followed a year ago last March. The marriage has since taken place, but Korea is no longer an independent Empire.

The more pronounced differences of race should perhaps be recognized—but recognized with sympathy. Each race then presents its own problems. But over all must come recognition of the commonality of man. This does not mean international fawning and flattering of one another. Racial equality must be admitted, but not as Japan sponsored it—with the existence of her own castes and classes, and the oppression of Korea and the use of “distinction” as an argument against universal suffrage which Premier Hara just made, but in full recognition of the latent possibilities in all peoples. Japan in fact regards herself as infinitely superior to all mankind. So do we. But that must be replaced by realization of the historical worthiness of Orientals as well as Caucasians.

We have in the Pacific as stated a great number of races in varying degrees of development. Most of them know little of each other and hate each other less. They have never been close enough for serious conflict—and they need never be. We can instill in them through educational channels a regard for each other which all the love-potions in the world could not pour into the races of Europe—inured to war and slaughter and religious bigotry. Our responsibility in the Pacific lies directly on that path. To the credit of the German Governor-General of Samoa it must be said that when he realized that the New Zealand forces had taken the islands, he was found counselling the natives against rising in rebellion. Smaller minds among the Germans tried otherwise. It seems to me that one solution for this type of problem in the Pacific would be for the Powers to allow not even mandates of Australasia and Japan and America over islands in the Pacific, but where no possession has been

established, and where islanders are not civilized enough to rule themselves, to institute international jurisdiction, German Samoa should be ruled jointly by Australasia, Japan and America; so should the Marshall Islands—and in every other group of islands where sufficient nationals resident warrant it. This is done in Shanghai with apparent satisfaction.

A dangerous tendency is creeping into the relations of foreigners in the East. One of the great Powers is taking a cue from fallen Germany by trying to galvanize her nationals so as to make them a force for her supremacy. The establishment of schools which shall teach the children the ideals of the mother country and other disintegrating practices are suggested. But it seems that these self-same methods might be used in a more general way. Could not America set the pace for a different undertaking? Could not all Americans in every corner of the Pacific make of themselves groups for the better relations of all foreigners there? When we take into consideration the fact that international comity and antipathy are fostered in a very great measure by the actions of alien representatives, the advance guard of business, the import of this suggestion will strike home.

There is but one great obstacle to any peaceful solution of the problems of the Pacific, an obstacle that can be overcome only by a rapid evolution or revolution. Even as the forces for the people are at work in China, now bound no more by the swaddling clothes of messy imperialism, so must they be encouraged in Japan whose bureaucracy is today entangling not only her own liberal elements, but a greater and greater number of nations in the Pacific.

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